1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

776 All the tales about Big-Raven belong to the cycle of raven myths which
[171] are popular on the American as well as on the Asiatic shores of the North Pacific Ocean. But while the Ku'rkil of the Chukchee, and the Raven of the North American Indians, play a part only in their mythology, particularly in the myths relating to the creation of the world, and have no connection with religious observances, Big-Raven (Quikinn·a'qu) plays an important part in the religious observances of the Koryak. Steller calls the Kamchadal Ku'tka "the greatest deity of the Kamchadal, who created the world and every living being."[1] Like the heroes of the other raven myths, Big-Raven of the Koryak appears merely as the transformer of the world. Everything in the world had existed before he appeared. His creative activity consisted in revealing things heretofore concealed, and turning some things into others; and, since everything in nature is regarded by the Koryak as animated, he only changed the form of the animated substance. Some things he brought down ready made to our earth from the Supreme Being in heaven. Big-Raven appears as the first man, the father and protector of the Koryak; but at the same time he
782 is a powerful shaman and a supernatural being. His name figures in all
776 incantations. These are either prayers addressed to him, or, in cases of treating
755 the sick, dramatic representations of myths relating how Big-Raven treated his own children, the patient personifying one of Big-Raven's children. His presence is presupposed in pronouncing the incantation, and sick people are treated by means of his name. In the same manner he is supposed to be present at every shamanistic ceremony. When the shamans of the Maritime Koryak commence their incantations, they say, "There, Big-Raven is coming!" The Reindeer Koryak told me that during shamanistic ceremonies a raven or a sea-gull comes flying into the house, and that the host will then say, "Slaughter a reindeer, Big-Raven is coming!" I had no opportunity to witness personally any sacrificial offering to Big-Raven; but at the fawn festival[2] which is now observed only by the Reindeer Koryak of the Palpal Mountains, the antlers piled up during the festival constitute a sacrifice to Big-Raven.

The name Tenanto'mwan,[3] but not his other two names, is always used in incantations, as will be seen later on from the texts which I succeeded in recording. His wife appears under one name only, Miti'.

776 In some of the myths we meet, together with Big-Raven (Quikinn·a'qu),
773 who turns into a raven only when putting on a raven's coat, the real raven (va'lvE, "raven;" or Valva'mtila^{a}n,[4] "Raven-Man") as a representative of birds

[1] Steller, p. 253. But on p. 255 he says, "If it is at all permissible to speak of any kind of a god, we do not find any description of his nature, faculties, or deeds, though there is a name for him, in the Kamchadal language. They, the Kamchadals, call him Düstechtschitsch." This is evidently the Supreme Being of the Kamchadal, corresponding to the supreme benevolent deity of the Koryak. Unfortunately, Steller does not give any further information about that deity. At the present time the Kamchadal call the Christian God by the name Duste'qčič.

[2] See Chapter V, The Fawn Festival.

[3] Chukchee, Tē'nanto'mgin.

[4] The ending-la^{a}n means "man."

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

of the chief[1] of the Reindeer Koryak on the Taigonos Peninsula. One morning, as soon as dawn was visible in the east, he called the herdsmen who were sleeping near our tent, and, pointing to the east, said, "The-One-on-High has woke up: it is time for us to get up too." Such occasional expressions lead to a much better insight into the ideas of primitive man about cosmogony than questions, which are usually put in such a way that they necessarily suggest the reply.

What are the relations of the people to this deity? They are based rather on a sense of gratitude and the desire to secure his good-will than on fear. Gratitude is expressed in the offering of sacrifices; but the latter are also offered in advance to secure future prosperity, or as atonement for transgressions of taboos.

All thoughts of the Koryak are concentrated upon the procuring of food, the hunting of sea and land animals, picking berries and roots, and the safe-keeping of the herds. All these things are in abundance as long as The-One-on-High looks down upon earth; but no sooner does he turn away than disorder reigns. In Tale 9 Big-Raven becomes unsuccessful in his hunt when Universe (Na'iñinen) has gone to sleep. Failure to offer customary sacrifices may also lead to disaster. In Tale 111 young Earth-Maker (Tanu'ta), the husband of Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, Big-Raven's daughter, fails to sacrifice reindeer to Supervisor's (Ina'hitela'n) son Cloud-Man (Ya'hala'n), as is customary to do at a wedding; and in consequence Supervisor pushes Yiñe'a-ñe'ut to the very edge of the hearth, owing to which she is roasted by the fire, and wastes away. Of course, it must be understood here that it is her soul which was close to the fire, for Yiñe'a-ñe'ut herself was not at the edge of the hearth at all.

The notions as to the direct interference of the Supreme Being with worldly affairs are very confused. Men seem to be left to their own resources in their struggle with evil spirits, diseases, and death: they appeal for help to Big-Raven, to protecting spirits, and to amulets.

The abode of the Supreme Being is identified with the world beyond the clouds, the sky, "the heaven village" inhabited by the people of the sky (I'ye-nimyi'sa'n, "inhabitants of the heaven village"), who possess reindeer, and resemble the people our world, of the earth.

The wife of the Supreme Being is called Supervisor-Woman (Lap-ña'ut, literally "the woman who looks or supervises").[2] In Tale 9 she is called Rain-Woman or Dampness-Woman (I'leña or I'le-ñe'ut). According to other notes collected by me, the sea itself figures as the wife of The-One-on-High, and her name is Sea-Woman (A'nqa-ña'ut).

[1] That is, the chief elected by the natives, or appointed by the government, who is responsible for the payment of tribute to the Russian Government.

[2] See Tale 114.

1 [The Supreme Being. See category 776, pp. 23-27 -- Analyst]

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776 775 843 Besides his general function as supervisor of the course of things on earth, The-One-on-High is particularly concerned in birth. He sends the souls of the new-born into the wombs of their mothers. The souls (uyi'čit or uyi'rit) are hung up in the house of the deity on posts and beams. The duration of the earthly life of each soul is marked beforehand on thongs tied to them. A long strap indicates longevity; a short one, the early death of the child to be born. After death the human soul returns to The-One-on-High, who after some time sends it into a relative of its former owner, to be re-born. A drawing (Fig. 40) made by the Koryak Yulta of the village of Kamenskoye serves to illustrate the tale in which is described how the souls are hanging in the deity's house.

776 831 781 Two children of the Supreme Being are mentioned by name, — his son Cloud-Man (Ya'hal or Ya'hala'n) or Cloud-Maker (Ta''yañ), and his daughter Cloud-Woman (Ya'hal-ña'ut). Cloud-Man figures as the protector of young couples. Young men beat the drum, and appeal to him to turn to them the "mind" or heart of the girl, and *vice versa*. On the right side of a picture drawn by the above-mentioned Koryak (see Fig. 41) a girl is represented beating the drum in order to attract to herself the heart of a young man. The sounds of the drum reach the ears of Cloud-Man, who draws a line connecting the affections of the two young people. In one tale[1] Fog-Man beats the drum to attract the heart of Big-Raven's daughter. Cloud-Man causes Big-Raven to conceive the thought of marrying Yiñe'a-ñe'ut to her brother, and thus induces Yiñe'a-ñe'ut to flee to Fog-Man. For his mediation in love-matters Cloud-Man gets a sacrificial reindeer from the bridegroom after the marriage has taken place. In another tale[2] Earth-Maker (Tanu'ta), after his marriage, fails to follow this custom, and his bride ails and wastes away until he does his duty toward Cloud-Man.

773 77? 821 The Supreme Being plays no active part in mythology, at least not in the myths collected by me; but there are numerous tales relating to Cloud-Man's marriage with Big-Raven's daughter Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, and to Cloud-Woman becoming Eme'mqut's wife. On such occasions, Big-Raven and his family ascend to heaven to visit with his divine father-in-law: and Cloud-Man, with his sister and other inhabitants of heaven, come down to Big-Raven's settlement to return his visit.

Only one tale[3] relating to The-Master-on-High, and containing coarse details, can be compared with the tales relating to Big-Raven. In order to cause rain on earth, Universe (Ñai'ñinen) attaches his wife's vulva to a drum, which he beats with his penis: and the liquid which is squirted out from the vulva falls down on earth as rain. In order to put an end to the incessant rain, Big-Raven and his son Eme'mqut turn into ravens and fly up to heaven. They cause the deity and his wife to fall asleep, and carefully dry their privates

[1] Tale 66. [2] Tale 111. [3] Tale 9.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak R14

by the fire. On awakening, Universe is no longer able to produce rain by beating the drum, and thus it clears up on earth. It is interesting to note that this tale is told in order to put an end to rain or to a snow-storm. On the other hand, it must not be told in fine weather, lest it bring on rain or a storm. The tale was told to me during fine weather, and therefore a sacrifice to Universe had to be offered first. This was done by burning some fat, the idea being that the fire acts as an intermediary between the supplicant and Universe. However, I had to take upon myself the responsibility for the consequences.

MALEVOLENT BEINGS. — The first place among beings that are ill-disposed to mankind is occupied by the so-called kalau (*sing.* kala[1]), which correspond to the Chukchee kelet. The people of Paren call them also kalak or kamak; and among the Reindeer Koryak they are frequently called ñe'nvetičĭn or ñi'nvit. However, the above-mentioned names for evil spirits are known among all the Koryak. The Koryak conception of their dual nature finds expression in their myths, and appeared clearly in conversation. The kala appears sometimes as an invisible being that kills people by supernatural or rather invisible means; and sometimes he appears as a common cannibal. His material and spiritual features are often intermingled.

The relations between the kalau and the Supreme Being were described to me by an old man named Yulta, from the village of Kamenskoye. At one time the kalau lived with The-Master-on-High in the upper world; but he quarrelled with them, and sent them down to our world. This resembles somewhat the biblical conception of the fallen angels. The official chief of the Reindeer Koryak on the Taigonos Peninsula used to tell me that The-Master-on-High sends the kalau to people when they do wrong, just as the Czar sends his Cossacks against those that are disobedient. Others told me that The-Master-on-High sends the kalau to the people that they may die, and that he may create other people. A similar story was told to me about Big-Raven. He sends the kalau down to the people to give them a chance to test the power of their incantations against diseases and death, which he had bequeathed to them. In one tale[2] the dead ancestors send the kalau from the underground world into the village of their descendants to punish the young people for playing games at night, and thus disturbing the rest of the old people.

According to Koryak ideas, the kalau constitute families, just like human beings, with an old man as the head of the family, his children, their wives, etc. I heard various accounts concerning the abode of the kalau, from which it may be concluded that several groups are distinguished, according to their place of residence.[3] Some live in the world under us. They have daytime

[1] See p. 21, Footnote 4.

[2] Tale 43.

[3] It is interesting to note, that, while the idea of evil spirits dwelling in the upper world is foreign to the Koryak mind, the Yakut subdivide their evil spirits (Abasyla'r), which correspond to the kalau, into upper (that is, heavenly), middle (earthly), and lower (or those of the underground world).

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776 turned inside out as soon as he began to laugh, and who is considered a ludicrous figure.

Although, on the whole, the word "kala" denotes all powers harmful to man, and all that is evil in nature, there are numbers of objects and beings known under the name of "kalak" or "kamak" that do not belong to the class of evil spirits. Thus, the guardian spirits of the Koryak shamans, and some varieties of guardians of the village, of the family, or of individuals, are called by this name. These will be discussed later on.[1]

"Owners" and Other Supernatural Beings."— Another class of supernatural beings are known as Owners or Masters (E'ɪɪn). They represent the idea of a more or less powerful being who is the "owner" of an object, who resides in the object. Among the Koryak the conception is not well developed. It seems to me that this conception belongs to a stage of religious consciousness higher than that of the Koryak, among whom it is not yet differentiated from a lower animistic view of nature. The conception of "masters" residing, under the name of inua ("its man"), within things, or phenomena of nature, is quite clear among the Eskimo, is well developed with the Yukaghir (they call their "owners" po'gil), and is especially developed among the Siberian tribes with typical Asiatic culture. Among the Yakut the "masters" are called i'čči; and the word e'cen or i'šin is used in the same sense among the Buryat. According to the idea prevalent among all these tribes, every object — or at least every important natural object — has a spirit-owner residing within it. I have been unable to observe a clear conception of this kind among the Koryak.

782 The following data are characteristic of the notions of the Koryak: —

776 One Reindeer Koryak from the Taigonos Peninsula, who had gone to
822 the seashore in the beginning of summer to hunt seals and to fish, offered a reindeer as a sacrifice to the sea. The Koryak for "sea" is a'ñqa; and for "master of the sea," añqa'ken-eti'nvila'n. I asked him whether he offered his sacrifice to the sea, or to the master of the sea. He did not understand the question at first. Apparently he had never thought about it, and very likely the two conceptions were confused in his mind. After a little while, however, he replied, "I don't know. We say, 'sea' and 'owner of the sea:' it is just the same." At the same time I was told by the Koryak of other places that the owner of the sea is a woman; while others considered the sea itself as a woman. The Crab (Toko'yoto) is considered to be the deity of the sea, along the North Pacific coast; and, according to Mr. Bogoras, the Koryak of Kamchatka consider the crab A'vvi as such.[2]

I have received similar incoherent replies when inquiring about the so-called apa'pel (from a'pa, "father" in the Kamenskoye dialect, "grandfather" in the Paren dialect). Certain hills, capes, and cliffs are called by this name.

[1] See p. 36. [2] See Tale 134.

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They protect hunters and travellers, and sacrifices are offered to them; but whether apa'pel is applied to the hill itself, or to the spirit residing in it, I am unable to say. It would rather seem that the hill proper is the guardian. 776 823

The sun, the moon, and the stars also figure as animated beings. The sun is sometimes identified with The-Master-on-High. Whe shall see hereafter that special sacrifices are offered to the sun. In some tales[1] Sun-Man (Teike'm-tila'n) has a wife and children and his own country, which is inhabited by Sun people. In these tales it is told that Eme'mqut marries Sun-Man's daughter; while in another one[2] it is related that Sun-Man marries Yiñe'a-ñe'ut. On the other hand, we also hear that the sun as a luminary is swallowed by the raven, and set free by Yiñe'a-ñe'ut. 782

In one tale[3] the moon figures as a man, Moon-Man (Yae'lhi'mtila'n); while in another[4] she is a woman who is trying hard to induce Eme'mqut to marry her. 776 821

A Star-Man (Añayi'mtila'n) is also mentioned.[5] The sky is regarded as a country inhabited by a stellar people.

[1] Tales 12, 21. [2] Tale 19. [3] Tale 114. [4] Tale 29.

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it, or on a rock over the sea. It is put up by the founder of the "habitation;" that is, by the one who erects the first house, and is passed by inheritance to the descendants of the founder. As a rule, new settlements were founded by "strong men," heroes. Around the first house, and under his protection, weaker people would settle, usually his relatives by blood or by marriage; and the "guardian of the habitation" would become the common guardian of the settlement. As the latter grew, some of the house-owners would put up habitation-guardians of their own, which were, however, only family guardians. The general guardianship of the settlement belongs to the first guardian erected by the founder. It serves as the intermediary between the inhabitants of the village and the rulers of the sea and of the hunting-grounds. The lower part of the guardian-figure is girded with sacrificial sedge-grass. When the hunt of sea-animals, wild reindeer, and mountain-sheep, is over, the charm is smeared with the blood and the fat of the animals. The top of the charm, from the constant application of fat, turns black, and looks as though it were charred. The charm is also offered sacrifices of horns and antlers of animals killed in the hunt, and whale-vertebræ. On Plate XII, Fig. 1, a photograph is reproduced of the old guardian of the settlement of Kuel, surrounded with sacrifices. The priestly duties in relation to the guardian of the settlement are performed by a descendant of the founder, usually the eldest in the family. He smears the charm with fat, "feeds" it, and adorns it with sacrificial grass. In a year of successful hunt, the charm is sometimes offered a dog as a sacrifice. Fig. 4, represents one of the guardians of the village Big-Itkana, with a slaughtered dog near the charm. In the same village I saw a pup strung up as a sacrifice on the wooden kamak (okkamak) itself (see Plate IX, Fig. 1). The charm was a secondary guardian, the protector of one family, and consisted of a forked branch of a large willow-tree stuck into the ground. The village guardians differ in size, while the guardian of Big-Itkana (Fig 4) is about six feet high, that of Kuel (Plate XII, Fig. 1) is not over two feet.

[6,11]

778 782

Fig. 4. Guardian of the Village Big-Itkana, with Sacrificed Dog. (From a photograph.)

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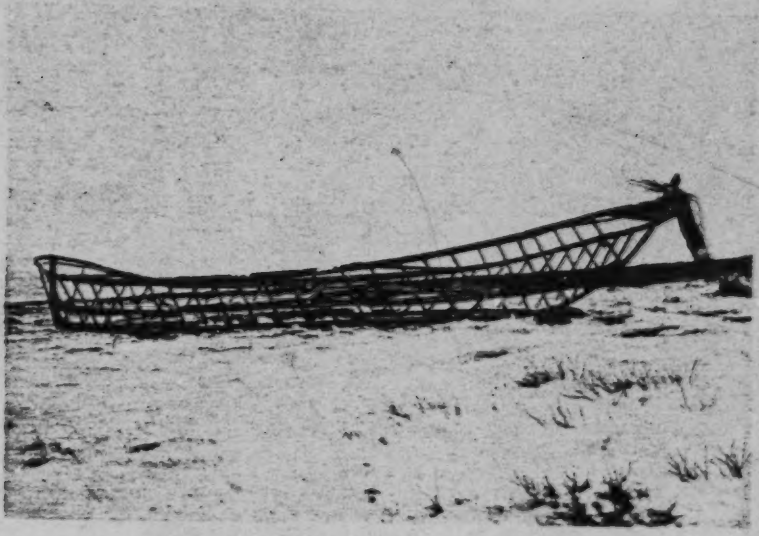

FIG. 1. BOAT-FRAME, WITH SACRIFICIAL GRASS ATTACHED.

FIG. 2. SACRIFICE OF A DOG.

[facing p. 90]

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upon boards, and thrown upon the approaching herd. According to explanations given by some of the Koryak, the herd is met with fire in the same manner as relatives and guests are welcomed; while, according to others, the fire signifies the source whence reindeer originated. According to the second version, The-One-on-High took the first reindeer out of the fire. After the fire has been taken out of the house, sacrificial reindeer are slaughtered as an offering to The-One-on-High, and the face of the guardian on the sacred fire-board is smeared with blood, that he may protect the herd from wolves during the winter. Well-grown fawns are selected for this purpose, their skins being used for winter garments.

The Fawn Festival. — In spring, about the month of April, when the fawning-period is over and the reindeer have lost their antlers, the fawn festival is celebrated. It is called ki'lvei. The fire in the house is put out, and a new one is started by means of the sacred fire-board. Then reindeer are slaughtered as a sacrifice to The-One-on-High. In the Palpal Mountains, both the Koryak and the Chukchee pile up the antlers of the killed reindeer. The other Reindeer Koryak do not observe this custom. It seems probable that at an early period this custom was common to all Reindeer Koryak, though the Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula deny ever having had it. However, the former existence of a custom is often disavowed as soon as it has ceased to be in vogue. The owner of the herd beats the drum in order to entertain the fawns. The does, so the official chief of the Taigonos Koryak told me, say, on hearing the drum, "Our master is amusing our fawns."

These two festivals — the end of the fawning period, and the return of the herd in the fall — are the most important ones of the year. On such occasions, toothsome dishes are prepared, and guests from the neighboring camps are entertained; but they are strictly family festivals, nevertheless.

Other Festivals. — The offering of sacrifices constitutes the main feature of all other festivals. These are observed (1) when the sun marks the approach of summer after the winter solstice — a sacrifice is then offered to the sun; (2) in the month of March, when the does commence to fawn — a sacrifice is offered to The-One-on-High; (3) in spring, when the grass begins to sprout and the leaves appear on the trees — a sacrifice is offered to the earth or to the master of the earth; (4) when mosquitoes put in their appearance — reindeer are then slain as an offering to The-One-on-High, lest the mosquitoes scatter the herd.

Races. — Reindeer races must also be classed among the festivals of the Reindeer Koryak, for they are not a mere sport: they are of a religious character, like the Greek games. Races are festivals in honor of The-One-on-High. Dog-races and foot-races, on the other hand, are not regarded as religious festivals. Every owner of a large herd arranges races once a year. They usually take place toward the close of winter. The owner of the camp invites his guests from all the neighboring camps. Before the beginning of

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796 tales he is not called by his usual name, E"gi̯ām, but Umya'ilhm ("broad-soled
825 one") or Ña'iñmosa'n ("one who keeps himself outside").

After having killed a wolf, the Reindeer Koryak slaughter a reindeer, cut off its head, and put its body, with that of the killed wolf, on a platform raised on posts. The reindeer-head is placed so as to face eastward. It is a sacrifice to The-One-on-High, who is thus asked not to permit the wolf to attack the herd. Special food is prepared in the evening, and the wolf is fed. The night is spent without sleep, in beating the drum and dancing to entertain the wolf, lest his relatives come and take revenge. Beating the drum, and addressing themselves to the wolf, the people say, "Be well!" (Nime'leu gatva'ñvota!) and addressing The-One-on-High, they say, "Be good, do not make the wolf bad!"

Practices in Connection with Fox-Hunting. — When a captured fox is brought into the house, it is soothed like a child. While pulling off its skin, and cutting the joints of the legs, they say in a pitiful tone, "Eh, what a lean one!" to which some one replies for the fox, "I will soon send you a gray fox." A grass mat is put around the body like a coat. The male fox is given a little wooden knife, and the female a thimble and needle-case; then it is placed on the platform of the storehouse.

Sacrifices.

● 782 The sacrifices offered by the Koryak to the supreme and other supernatural beings may be divided into two classes, — bloody and bloodless ones. It is remarkable, that, among the tribes of the northwestern part of North America, we find only bloodless offerings to the deities, consisting of food, ornaments, and other trifling gifts.[1] These sacrifices, however, play a secondary part. Among the Eskimo, the most effective means of guarding against misfortune consists in the observance of various taboos; and a frank confession by the person who transgressed a taboo[2] serves as the best propitiatory measure. Among the Indians, purification, prayers, and incantations are the most effective means of gaining the good-will of the supernatural powers. Of course we find all these among the Koryak also; but sacrifices play the most conspicuous part in their religious life. It seems justifiable to assume that bloody sacrifices are connected with the pastoral life of the Reindeer tribes, just as we find the same custom among the cattle-raising tribes of Siberia generally, and among the Reindeer peoples in the north of Siberia, as the Samoyed and Ostyak. It is probably not a mere accident that in the myths recorded by me, mostly offerings of reindeer are mentioned;[3] but at present

[1] See Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, pp. 129, 146; Teit, pp. 344, 345; Boas, Bella Coola Indians, p. 29.

[2] Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 147.

[3] A dog-sacrifice is mentioned in but one tale, No. 92. It should be noted that the tales do not mention at all sacrifices to evil spirits (kalau).

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it is difficult to tell whether the Koryak made offerings of dogs prior to the time when a part of them began to keep reindeer-herds. The dog-raising Eskimo do not slaughter dogs as a sacrifice to the spirits.[1] Neither Steller nor Krasheninnikoff mentions that the Kamchadal dog-breeders offered any sacrifices of dogs.

On the other hand, however, in North America, east of the Rocky Mountains, the Iroquois Indians make sacrificial offerings of dogs; the Sioux also used to sacrifice dogs as well as make bloodless offerings;[2] and the dog-raising Yukaghir[3] of northeastern Siberia, and the Gilyak[4] of Saghalin and of the Amur River, killed dogs as sacrifices to their deities or to their dead. The Gilyak, the Ainu, and some Tungus tribes of the Amur region, make bloody sacrifices, killing bears during their well-known bear festivals.[5]

If we now proceed to compare the nature of the bloody sacrifices of the Koryak with those of the Siberian tribes, whose culture is of decidedly Asiatic type and shows no American affiliation, and whose source of subsistence is cattle-raising, we shall find certain marked differences.

Among the Buryat and the people of the Altai Mountains in southern Siberia, bloody sacrifices are still practised. Such sacrifices were formerly made in the country of the Urankhai (Soyot) and all over lamaistic Mongolia; but, according to Potanin,[6] they have been abolished through the efforts of the lamas.

The custom of offering bloody sacrifices is even now in existence among the Yakut, in spite of the fact that they were converted to Christianity from a hundred and fifty to two hundred years ago. But while the Altai[7] people, like the Koryak, offer sacrifices to benevolent as well as to malevolent deities, to U'lgen· and Ye'rlik, the Yakut slaughter horses and horned cattle to malevolent spirits (abasy') only.[8] They offer bloodless sacrifices exclusively, not only to the creative forces (ayi'), but to the "masters" (itti') as well. They make libations of kumiss to the head of the creative deities, Lord-Bright-Creator (Ayi'-Uru'n-Toyo'n); while animals are merely consecrated to him, but not slaughtered. Consecrated animals are not made use of. In olden times, rich Yakut consecrated to him entire droves of horses, which were then

[1] It is worthy of note here, that Turner (p. 196) says, "The tail of a living dog is often cut from the body in order that the fresh blood may be cast upon the ground to be seen by the spirit who has caused the harm, and thus he may be appeased." This seems to be a bloody offering.

[2] Dorsey, pp. 426, 459, 522. "Mr. W. Hamilton," says Dorsey (p. 426), "who was a missionary to the Iowa and Sac Indians of Nebraska, saw dogs hung by their necks to trees, or to sticks planted in the ground, and he was told that these dogs were offerings."

[3] See Jochelson, Yukaghir Materials, pp. 98, 110, 122.

[4] See Schrenck, III, pp. 765, 766.

[5] Ibid., pp. 696-737.

[6] Potanin, IV, p. 78.

[7] Ibid., IV, p. 91.

[8] Trostchansky (p. 105) gives the following reason why the Yakut offer bloody sacrifices exclusively to malevolent spirits (abasy'). The latter kill human beings in order to eat their souls (kut), which serve them as food; and the sacrifice serves as a substitute. The abasy' gets the kut of the animal instead of that of a human being.

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782 171 away eastward in the direction of the rising sun.[1] The Buryat also offer bloody sacrifices to eastern Teŭrii (evil deities) only.[2] On the contrary, the Samoyed, like the Koryak, sacrifice reindeer to the benevolent as well as to the malevolent deities.[3]

The Koryak, as we shall further see, offer bloody sacrifices mainly to the Supreme Deity, to the sun, the "masters," the spirits of killed animals, to sacred rocks, in some cases to figures of kalak, and to the kalau (evil spirits). Formerly the Reindeer Koryak used to kill reindeer in honor of their dead also.

The conclusion may be drawn from the above, that, while among the Yakut and Buryat the cult of the evil principle has gained the upper hand over that of the creative forces, among the Koryak the cult of the benevolent spirit is more conspicuous.

782 Sacrifices are preventive, to avert a possible calamity or malady; propitiatory, to remove a disaster which has already befallen; and for giving thanks, in gratitude for benefits received. Thus sacrifices are offered not only at certain set times, but also on any and all occasions which may call for them. For instance, sacrifices are offered to secure a happy journey, that the hunt may prove successful, that a patient may be cured, that a storm may abate, that a famine may come to an end, or in gratitude for a happy consummation of a journey, for a recovery from disease, or for a successful hunt.

Not unfrequently a sacrifice is promised to the Supreme Deity conditionally, to be offered during a certain festival. As proof of such a promise, some kind of a bright-colored rag is sewed with sinew-thread to the ear of the promised animal; and the promised reindeer or dog is called ina'tıplın ("sewed or basted to").

Almost all sacrifices are made by the family or the individual. Only the sacrifice offered to the guardian of the settlement may be considered as a sacrifice for the inhabitants of the entire village.

Bloody Sacrifices. — While the Maritime Koryak kill only dogs as a sacrifice, the Reindeer Koryak slaughter reindeer as well. Dogs are killed by the Reindeer Koryak mainly as a sacrifice to the kalau. A reindeer offering is regarded as a more appropriate sacrifice. A white reindeer is looked upon as an offering particularly gratifying to the Supreme Being.

As a rule, when the Koryak offer sacrifices to the kalau, they do so with unconcealed reluctance. The sacrifice to the kalau is the price paid for preventing their attacks upon human beings. Some blood from the wounds of dogs or reindeer sacrificed to the Supreme Being is sprinkled on the ground

[1] Among both the Kamchadal and the Thompson Indians we find the custom of consecrating to an idol or to a spirit a certain portion of land, in which they abide. The Kamchadal did not hunt, or gather berries, around the place where the sacred posts (see p. 38, Footnote 1) were standing (Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 103); also, among the Thompson Indians, "roots, etc., growing near a haunted or mysterious lake should not be dug or gathered" (Teit, p. 345).

[2] Mikhailovsky, Shamanism, p. 89. [3] Potanin, IV, p. 697.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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as an offering to the kala, with the words, "This blood is for thee, kala." Otherwise the kala might intercept the sacrifice, and prevent its reaching the Supreme Being, who resides in the sky. Figs. 40 and 41 are reproductions of sketches made by the Maritime Koryak Yulta, of Kamenskoye, and illustrate

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Fig. 40. Koryak Sketch illustrating a Kala intercepting a Sacrifice. *a*, the Supreme Being, his wife, and souls hanging in the house; *b*, shaman beating drum, and dying patient; *c*, sacrifice of a dog; *d*, kala intercepting sacrifice.

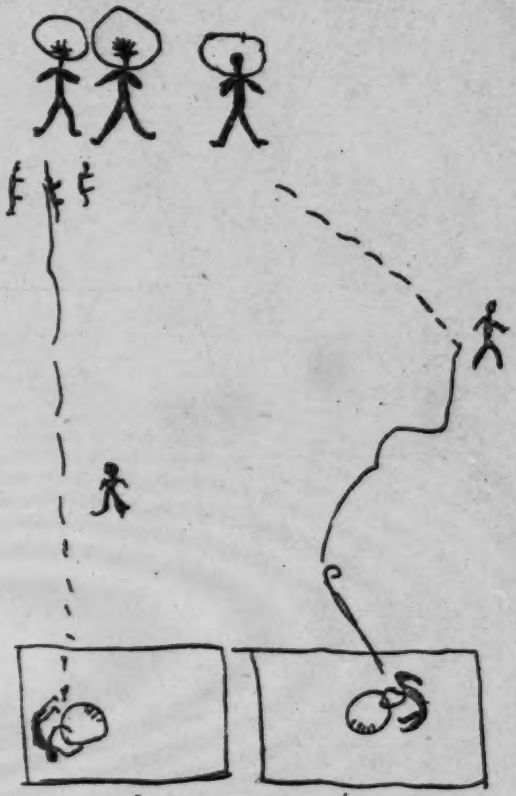

Fig. 41. Koryak Sketch representing, *a*, Sacrifices reaching Heaven; *b*, Girl invoking Cloud-Man (see p. 26).

these ideas. Fig. 40 shows a kala intercepting the sacrifice, and the patient, who is treated by a shaman, dying; while Fig. 41, *a*, represents the sacrifices reaching heaven, and the patient being cured. The sacrifices offered to the Supreme Being are placed eastward, facing the rising sun; while those offered

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

532 to the kala face toward the setting sun.[1] The kalau come from this side.
782 They sleep during the day, and after sunset go out hunting human beings. But at the same time I was told of kalau which come from the direction of Kamchatka, or from the east. Other kalau live in a subterranean kingdom. The blood from the wounds of animals sacrificed to the Supreme Being is sprinkled on the ground as an offering to them.

782 Sacrificial animals are killed by being stabbed in the heart with a spear. Dogs are killed in the following manner. One man holds a strap which is tied to the dog's neck; and another one stands back of the dog, holding it by a strap which encircles the hind part near the hind legs. The animal is thus held, unable to move. Frequently the dog does not suspect what is going to happen, wags its tail, and fawns upon the man in front, thinking that he is playing with it, or that he is about to hitch it to a sledge. A third man, who stands to the left of the dog, suddenly thrusts a spear into its heart (Plate VII, Fig. 2). It is considered a good sign if the dog is quiet before the blow, and does not resist. A long spear is therefore used, and not a knife, so that the animal may not be frightened. An unsuccessful blow is regarded as a bad sign. The men who are holding the dog pull the strap taut while the animal is writhing in convulsions, then they let it drop on its right side. In some places two men hold with their hands the dog that is to be killed; they lift it in the air, and a third one stabs it with a spear. An unsuccessful blow is regarded as a sign that the deity does not wish to accept the sacrifice: therefore the striking of the blow is intrusted to an experienced and skilful man. I recall, that, in the settlement of Paren, an excited young Koryak came running to me with a deep bite on his leg. He had held by its head a dog that was to be sacrificed. The old man who was to kill the dog did not hit the heart at the first stroke; and before he was able to strike the second deadly blow, the dog managed to bite the leg of the Koryak who was holding its head. This sacrifice, which was offered on the occasion of the illness of a boy, was looked upon as not accepted by the deity; and another sacrifice was required, if the boy was to recover. The dogs killed as an offering to the Supreme Being are hung on a post, the upper pointed end

[1] The creative deities of the Yakut are also supposed to reside in the east; and the chief of the upper evil spirits, Great-Lord (Ulu' Toyo'n), occupies the western part of the sky. Among the Altai people (Potanin, IV, p. 79) the skins of animals sacrificed to the benevolent deity (Ulgen) are placed head eastward; while the skins of animals sacrificed to the chief of the evil spirits (Ye'rlik) are placed head westward. The same is true among the Samoyed. When they stab a reindeer in sacrifice to the benevolent deity Nu'mа, they put the killed animal head toward the east; but when the animal is sacrificed to the malevolent deity Av-Vesaka, head toward the west. After eating the meat of the sacrificed reindeer, they put the head on a post, turning it toward east or west according to the deity to whom the offering is made (Potanin, IV, p. 697). Among the Buryat, on the contrary, the benevolent Tsagan occupy the western part of the sky; and the evil Tsagan the eastern (Agapitoff and Khangaloff, p. 4). It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the Bella Coola Indians place the evil in the west, and the good in the east. They regard the earth as an island swimming in the boundless ocean, and believe that when the mythical giant moves our earth westward, we have epidemics; when he moves it eastward, all sickness disappears (Boas, Bella Coola Indians, p. 37).

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● 782 of which is thrust under the dog's lower jaw, so that its muzzle points up to the sky, the ventral side eastward. A collar of sacrificial grass is put around the dog's neck. The post with the dog hanging from it is driven into the ground or snow, not far from the house; or a long pole with the sacrifice is placed close to the house, so that the dog hangs over the roof (Plate VIII, Fig 1). In Kamenskoye, only the heads of the sacrifices are hung upon poles; while the carcass, after the skin has been pulled off, is thrown away. Since the majority of dog-offerings are made in the interval between fall and spring, the dogs slaughtered during that time remain hanging for a long time, usually through the entire winter, until spring. Then they are skinned, and the carcass is thrown away.

The dogs sacrificed to the master of the sea are left on the seashore, the muzzle facing the sea; those offered to the mountains or rocks, called "grandfather" (apa'pel), are placed on the summit or slope of a hill; and the sacrifice offered to the kalau is left on the ground with the muzzle pointing westward. Sometimes the offering intended for evil spirits is placed in the direction of the road to be followed during a journey.

Dogs sacrificed to the village guardian are sometimes hung up on the guardian itself (Plate IX, Fig. 1).[1] Reindeer sacrifices are also stabbed with a spear attached to a long shaft, and not with a knife (as is usually done when reindeer are slaughtered for food), in order to avoid frightening the reindeer, which is required to stand still during the immolation. The reindeer designated as a sacrifice is caught, as usual, by means of a lasso. After it has been caught, it is held with the hands, the lasso is taken off of the antlers (or of the head if caught in the spring, when the antlers have been shed), the end of it made into two, and tied over the fetlock-joints of the hind-legs of the animal (Plate X, Fig. 1). Then the reindeer is let go, and the man holding the lasso drives it to the house. There he forces the animal to stand quiet by pulling the lasso taut. At the same time, another man, usually the owner of the reindeer, thrusts his spear into the animal's heart. Frequently the hobbled reindeer drags the man who holds it about a considerable time before the latter succeeds in bringing it to a stop at the proper place. The reindeer should fall on its right side, the wound upward, otherwise the offering is regarded as unwelcome to the deity: therefore the man who holds the lasso, which is tied around the reindeer's hind-legs, pulls to the left. Then the body is made to fall to the right. Blood from the wound is sprinkled on the ground as a sacrifice for the kalau (Plate X, Fig. 2).[2] If the sacrifice is offered

[1] See also p. 37 and Fig. 4.

[2] The photographs illustrating the reindeer sacrifice were obtained in the following manner. I asked the people of a camp on the Topolovka River to pose in the various positions of the sacrifice, and to let me take photographs of the scenes. I was told that this might be arranged with a dog sacrifice, but that such a posing for a reindeer sacrifice would be a sin. I offered to pay for the reindeer. The Koryak then consented to slaughter a reindeer as a sacrifice. I gave them two bricks of tea and two bundles of tobacco, and also left the sacrificial meat at their disposal. In the settlements of the Maritime Koryak, however, I was told that it is forbidden to represent the immolation of a dog without making a real sacrifice.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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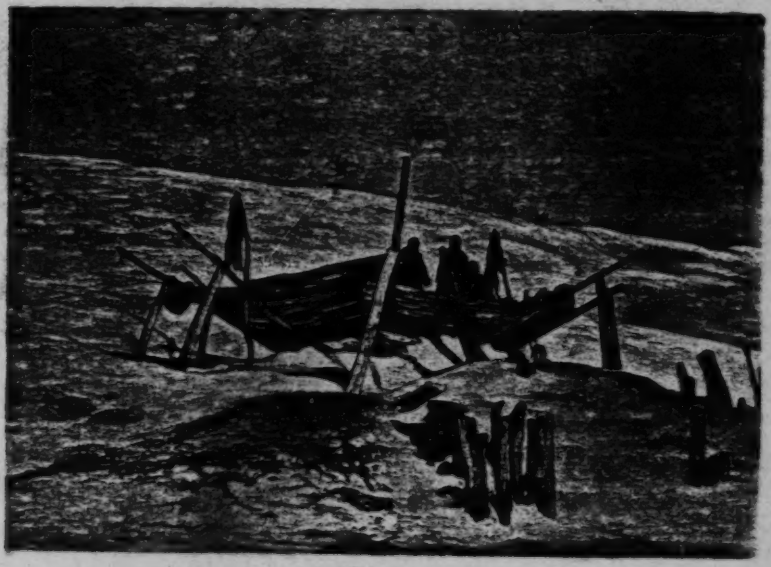

Fig. 1.

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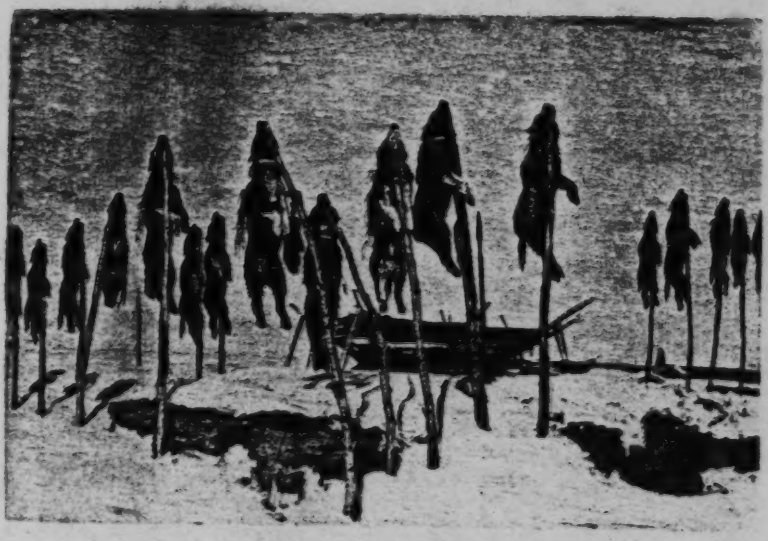

Fig. 2.

Underground Houses, with Sacrificed Dogs.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 95]

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

782 while the people are moving from place to place, or during a fair, the blood is sprinkled in all directions. The antlers of the sacrificial reindeer are hung on a bush or on rods. In spring, when the reindeer have no antlers, the sincipital bone is hung up; and when fawns have been sacrificed, their entire heads are displayed (Plate XI, Fig. 1; see also Plate IX, Fig. 2). At the Koryak fair on the Palpal Ridge I noticed that the fœtuses taken out of the wombs of slaughtered does were offered to the owner of the place. In order to deceive the deity, they were held just as though they were alive, and stabbed with a spear; and to simulate their death-agony, the fawns were shaken about. Frequently wooden or snow images of reindeer are thus offered as substitutes for real sacrifices.

The Reindeer Koryak make dog-offerings mainly to the kalau; and the stabbed dogs are placed on the ground with muzzle pointing westward, or in the direction in which the people are going to travel, that the evil spirits may cause them no harm.

Substitutes for the real animals are sacrificed when reindeer can ill be spared. This substitute must not be considered entirely as an imposition on the deity. The faith in the existence of a vital principle, and of its power to manifest itself in any object of animal form, is so strong, that the substitution is largely a self-deception. According to Tale 94, the Supreme Being discovers that a sacrifice has been offered to it, only when the sacrifice, or, rather, the soul of the sacrifice, rises to heaven. The Supreme Being hears a noise outside, sends out his son, Cloud-Man, to look; and the latter returns, saying that the white reindeer of Big-Raven, that is, the white reindeer sacrificed by Big-Raven, have come.

The offering of a reindeer as a sacrifice practically differs in no way from the mere slaughtering of a reindeer. The person who offers the sacrifice eats the meat, and thus sustains no loss. But it is different with a dog-offering, 435 which entails a loss on the owner. The only useful article that he obtains through the sacrifice of the dog is the skin, which is used for clothes; but the value of a dog-skin is less than one-tenth that of the dog. I paid two rubles for an entire suit made of dog-skin, while a dog of average value costs ten rubles.

The cult of the Maritime Koryak involves considerable expense. From fall until spring they kill so many pups and grown dogs that they are unable to replenish their teams from natural increase; and as soon as winter travel begins, they are compelled to buy driving-dogs in the Russian settlements. The following incident will give an idea of the number of dogs sacrificed annually by the Maritime Koryak. In the month of March I rented twenty sledges in Paren for the purpose of carrying my collection to the mouth of the Gishiga River. A month later I again passed through Paren, and was surprised at the number of dog-sacrifices which I found hanging there. All

Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak 7.Y4

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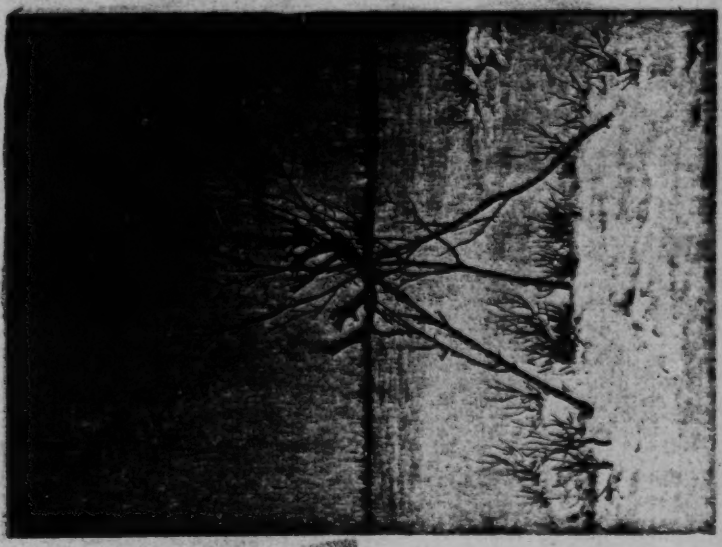

FIG. 2. SACRIFICIAL REINDEER-ANTLERS.

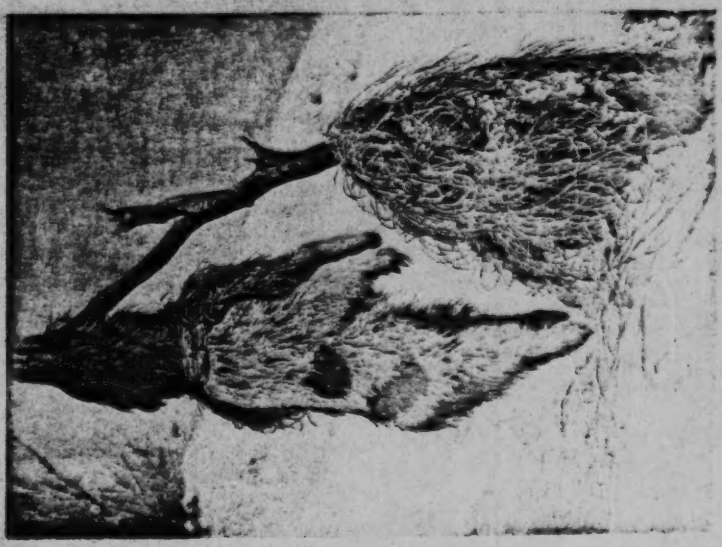

FIG. 1. VILLAGE GUARDIAN, WITH SACRIFICED DOG.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 96:A]

Jochelson E-S (1908-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.
Sacrifice of Reindeer.
The Koryak.

[Facing p. 96 B]

Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry4 Koryak Ry4

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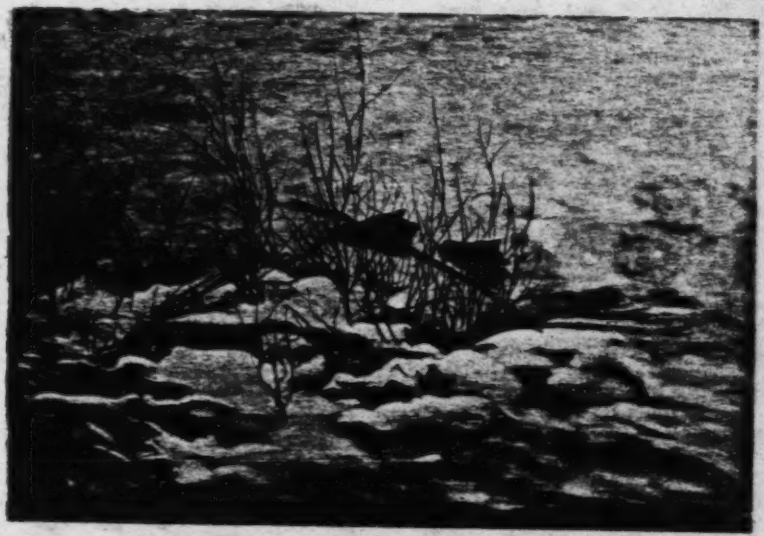

Facing Settlement Hamlet of Reindeer-Pawn.

778

Facing Earth-Hut.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 96:C]

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

782 along the bank of the Paren River were stakes driven into the snow, with dogs hanging on them, their muzzles pointing upward and the ventral side of the body facing east. In the light of the spring sun, this long row of dog-sacrifices offered a queer and sad sight. Part of this row is represented on Plate VIII, Fig. 2. I found out that the greater part of the dogs had been killed by the drivers of the sledges which I had hired, in gratitude for their safe return from the Russian settlement Gishiginsk, and to guard their village against the spirit of measles, which a year previous had come to them from that little town. Since every driver charged me but six rubles[1] for the drive to Gishiga, the sacrifice cost him more than he had earned.

Of course, from their own point of view, the Koryak have just as much right to sacrifice their dogs for the sake of their own welfare as we have to kill cattle to support our existence; but I never felt so sad on account of human delusions as when, approaching the settlement, I suddenly saw several dozen stakes with needlessly killed animals hung to them.

Only in the village of Big Itkana had I an opportunity to witness the offering of bloody sacrifices to the kalaks representing guardians of the settlement (see Fig. 4 p. 37; also Plate IX, Fig. 1).

778 Sacrifices offered to the sacred hills and rocks (apa'pel, "grandfathers")
782 — which are regarded as guardians of roads, and protectors of hunting — are placed on their summits or slopes. These may be dogs, or antlers of sacrificed reindeer. Plate XI, Fig. 2, (opp. p. 96), represents the sacred hill, situated on the seashore, close to the settlement of Mikino, in the direction of Kamenskoye. One of my drivers told me that this "grandfather" was very favorable to him. Once, when passing by, he had thrown a puppy to him, and on his way back he was met by a gray fox which was running to him, and which he killed with a stick.

Fig. 42 (1/6). Bone Comb for preparing Sacrificial Sedge-Grass. Length, 22 cm.

782 BLOODLESS SACRIFICES. — Bloodless sacrifices in the form
314 of sacrificial grass, berries, blubber, meat, tobacco, tea, sugar, and other edibles, also of ornaments, are made to the fire, to the "owners," to the dead, and to the kalak-idols. Only the guardian of the settlement sometimes receives a dog-sacrifice. Besides this, the antlers of wild reindeer are piled up in front
[321] of it, since they are also regarded as sacrificial offerings (see Plate XII, Fig. 1).[2]

Sacrificial sedge-grass is in use only among the Maritime Koryak. They comb it with a bidentate bone comb (see Fig. 42), which renders it as soft as flax, and make wreaths and necklaces out of it. According to Kraheninnikoff, the Kamchadal used sacrificial grass for the same purpose.

[1] The distance between Paren and Gishiginsk is a hundred and fifty verst, or ninety-nine English miles.
[2] See also p. 37.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

782 314 While the sacrificial shavings (ina'u) of the Gilyak and Ainu are in themselves sacred, the sacrificial grass (lau'te) of the Koryak, as such, is not sacred. It serves as clothing in ceremonial dances, and as dress and ornaments of the guardian figures. This grass, after having been charmed by incantations, is also used for medical purposes.

782 Food and ornaments are offered to guardian figures or charms, to sacred hills, to the fire, and to the dead. Meat and parts of killed animals are placed in front of the guardian figures, but usually they are simply smeared with fat. Tea, tobacco, scraps of woven fabrics, printed calico, or red cloth, and other trifles, are put upon the sacred hills. After every successful hunt, some meat and fat are thrown into the fire.

The feeding of the fire (Enalva'theñin) is a necessary attribute of the cult of the household hearth, and in some cases it seemed to me as though, through the fire, offerings were thus made to the Supreme Being. On the Taigonos Peninsula, when a drum was once brought out to me in the open without a cover, one of the women threw a piece of fat into the fire, lest The-One-on-High should send a storm for the transgression of the taboo. The dead are given presents, which they are supposed to take to relatives who have previously died; and these gifts are to be regarded as offerings.

Prayers in Connection with Sacrifices. — Prayers addressed to deities and spirits during the ceremonies of sacrificial offerings are not lengthy. Generally they say, "This for thee" (Vo'tto gi'ñkın), without mentioning the name of the deity to whom the sacrifice is offered.[1] I will give here some prayers pronounced during sacrificial offerings, which I had a chance to hear.

During my sojourn on the Tılkhai River, the official elder of the Reindeer Koryak slaughtered a reindeer to The-One-on-High, that his reindeer-does might be safely delivered of their fawn; and he said, "Well let us live, Existence!" (Nıme'leu mıtvala'ikın, Vahi'yaın!) While offering a reindeer to the kala, he said, "This for thee, that thou mayst not be wrathful."

When the Reindeer Koryak smear the sacred fire-board with fat, they usually say, "Take good care of the herd!"

A Koryak in the settlement of Big Itkana killed a dog before starting on a journey, and said, "Take this, Thou-on-High!" (Vayo' Çičhola'ituñ!) And when he sprinkled the blood on the ground, he said, "Take this, kala!" (Vayo', kala!)

Soon after the winter solstice, the official elder (Russian, starosta) of Kuel offered a dog-sacrifice to the Sun, and, appealing to him, he said, —

[1] Jevons (p. 245), in quoting Bastian (Der Mensch, ii. p. 109), who apparently borrowed the following from Krasheninnikoff, says, "The Kureks slaughter a reindeer or dog, put its head on a pole facing east, and, mentioning no name, say, 'This for thee: grant me a blessing;'" and he sees in this fact a survival of the custom of offering the totem animal itself as a sacrifice, when there was therefore no need of mentioning the name of the god. Of course, in this case the conclusion is incorrect, since the Koryak know to what deity they offer the sacrifice.

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"Wu'tına gṇākına'yit, ti'tkıtit, a^{s}tta'pil tɛ'ñtıñin."
"This in thy side, Sun, a little dog (I) delivered."

539

In Kuel, the Koryak Qaivi'lok smeared the guardian of the nets with the blubber of a seal which he had caught, and said, —

"Qakıntatva'tıtkın qo'npıñ e^{s}na'an mıtči'nyıt."
"Give luck always thus (I) will proceed." [1]

When the official chief of the Reindeer people of Taigonos went down to the sea in the summer to hunt seals, he killed a reindeer, and, addressing the sea, said, —

"Añqai'tıñ qoyā'ña, a^{s}||ai ha gı'čɛ. Ala'pka gı'mma yaq yakyula'ıtın?"
"(To the) sea (a) reindeer, Oh, mother, yet thou. (If) not lookest I how for life?"

In free translation this prayer means, "To the sea (I offer) a reindeer; yet thou art our mother. If thou wilt not look, how shall we live?"

[1] That is, smear.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

have a broad chest, short and thick paws, and a large, comparatively short head. 600

Male dogs are gelded in order to make them quiet, and that they may retain fat notwithstanding the hard work they have to do. Ungelded males grow thin very quickly. Usually they are gelded when one year old. As they begin to mature at the age of six or seven months, the litter is obtained mainly from males that have not yet reached their full maturity and entered into possession of their full powers. This must have an unfavorable influence on the breed. Some owners leave particularly strong dogs ungelded until they are two or three years old, and use them for breeding-purposes. 232

The operation of gelding is at present performed with an ordinary knife. Two men hold the dog, which is laid on its back, firmly, while a third one cuts open the scrotum and removes the testicles by severing them from the spermatic ducts. To stop the bleeding, the scrotum is filled with snow. Usually the operation is performed on a cold day in winter, which is believed to be favorable to success. Ordinarily the dogs bear the operation well, and the wound soon heals. Rarely does a dog die from loss of blood. Once I saw a dog which remained almost motionless for a whole week after the operation, frequently licked the wound, and lay down on fresh snow to lessen the inflammation. The Russianized natives on the Kolyma told me that they would not allow the gelded dogs to lie down. The dogs are gelded during a short stop on a journey. Immediately after the operation the whole team is driven full speed, and the dog which has just been operated on must run along. In this way, say these cruel surgeons, the dogs get hardened, and bear the operation well. All the disagreeable traits in the character of the draught-dog noticed by travellers seem to me to apply mainly to gelded dogs. After the operation they lose all liveliness and sprightliness, become surly, indifferent to their companions, afraid of human beings, and attached exclusively to the trough from which they are fed.

VARIOUS USES OF THE DOG. — Besides driving, the dog is also used for sacrifices,[1] as a helpmate in hunting,[2] and its skin furnishes material for clothing.[3] The Koryak deny ever having used dogs for food, except in times of famine. Their myths, too, refer with contempt to the custom of eating dogmeat. The heroes of some myths mock the Raven-Man because he eats dog-meat and excrement,[4] both being considered equally despicable. On the other hand, it should be remarked that the people who sacrifice dogs to divinities usually also eat them, as the Gilyak, Ainu,[5] and Indians; for the 231 782 262

[1] Compare Part I, pp. 90–97; Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 525.
[2] See Chapter VII.
[3] See Chapter IX.
[4] Compare Part I, p. 199.
[5] See Schrenck, II, p. 167; Sternberg, The Gilyak, p. 40.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry4 Koryak Ry4

idea of a sacrifice[1] includes the conception that the deity or spirit will make the same use of the offering or of its soul as does the person offering the sacrifice. Even the many colored rags or other trifles which the Siberians and also other tribes offer to the deities or spirits are given to them either as ornaments or as other utilities or as substitutes for costlier things. The Chukchee kill dogs for food, but they do not eat sacrificial dogs, says Bogoras.[2] This last statement is not in accord with the fact that in general the Chukchee do eat dog-meat, for the flesh of those sacrificial animals which are commonly used for food is usually eaten. Among the Koryak I saw the carcasses of sacrificed dogs skinned and cast out on the tundra.[3] In this case it must be assumed that the dog is sacrificed as a draught-animal or for the sake of its fur, as the Siberian natives hang on trees the skins of fur-bearing animals, which serve as offerings to evil spirits, while the carcasses are thrown away. Among the Yakut, the favorite offering to those divinities and spirits to whom no bloody sacrifices are offered, is hair from the horse's tail or mane. In this case the hair cannot be a substitute for the horse, but must have the significance of an object which is valuable in itself in Yakut domestic economy, nets, cords, and rugs being knitted of horsehair.

CHARACTER AND NUMBER OF DOGS. — The Koryak dog is useless as a watch-dog. In the first place, it is afraid of man, and runs away even at the motion of a hand. It hardly barks at all,[4] and thus does not warn its master of danger. Three times I took Arctic dogs, that I had reared myself, to civilized regions. One of them I took as far as Yakutsk, the other two I carried to European Russia. Despite certain changes in their character owing to my method of rearing, they showed no hostility to strangers.[5]

It is curious that when in harness the dog's character seems to change completely. In nearly all books of Arctic travels are found descriptions of the passionate excitement to which this tamed beast of prey is roused at the moment of starting on a journey. While travelling, the dogs not only attack other dogs, but even men whom they encounter. To meet a team of dogs rushing along is fraught with great danger for a person travelling on foot, who is obliged to turn off the trail. On meeting another team, the dogs engage in a fierce fight if one of the drivers does not turn aside. Should harnessed

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[1] The sacrifice of the totem animal or the divinity itself — made, according to the views held by some recent writers, in order to renew nature — must be excepted from this statement.

[2] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 101.

[3] See Part I, p. 95.

[4] Some dogs do not bark at all, and are as silent as if they were dumb. Those that bark do so rarely. Their bark is a drawl, and turns into a whine.

[5] Living far away from Yakutsk, I kept a horse of my own for travelling. My dog grew so attached to it that it would always lie down near it. One night when two Tatars from the Kazan Government who had been banished to the Yakutsk district for highway robbery, and who were my neighbors, stole the horse, the dog followed it in silence. The Tatars took the horse into the woods and there tied it up, intending to kill it for its meat the same evening; but, following the tracks of dog and horse, I found them and took them back home.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

only remark that I consider the thrashing of the groom as the final act in testing his adroitness, bravery, and endurance, and not as a symbolic remnant of marriage by capture.

Of course, along with the other methods of obtaining wives, the Koryak, in former times, resorted to carrying away women, or taking away by force both girls and married women, I have spoken of the "wife-snatcher-strong-men."[1] In Koryak mythology we find some tales of girls being carried away by force. In one tale[2] Big-Raven, the ancestor of the Koryak, carries off a girl from the kamak for his son Eme'mqut; and in another[3] Eme'mqut himself steals the daughter of the kamak. But if we take into consideration that among the Koryak marriage is rather endogamic than exogamic, and that in war the conquerors usually slew the children of the vanquished lest they should grow up to become avengers, and their women lest they should bear avengers,[4] it seems plausible that the custom of capturing wives from foreign tribes or clans never prevailed among the Koryak to any extent.

Marriage is accompanied by neither feast nor shamanistic ceremonies. The daughter and the son-in-law either leave at once for the young man's house, or they remain for some time in her father's house. In some localities, after a successful "bride-seizing," the bridegroom goes home and sends his parents, or other elder relatives, to fetch the bride. When the bride approaches the house of her bridegroom's parents, the latter come out with firebrands taken from the hearth to meet her. This reception symbolizes the acceptance of the bride into the family cult which the hearth represents. Beyond her clothes and appurtenances for woman's work, the bride brings almost nothing into her father-in-law's house. The bed and sleeping-tent for the couple are prepared by the bridegroom's family. However, the bride brings along presents of clothing, meat, and other things, for the bridegroom's mother and sisters, and her own reindeer if she be a Reindeer Koryak. If the bride is the first daughter-in-law in the house, the mother-in-law usually hands the whole household over to her care, and interferes only if the daughter-in-law proves to be an inexperienced housewife. On entering the house, the bride immedately sets out to prepare the meal. The Maritime Koryak do not invite any guests, and the meal has purely a family character. Among the Reindeer Koryak, at the meeting of the bride, one or several reindeer are sacrificed to The-Master-on-High and his son, Cloud-Man, protector of married couples.[5] From one myth[6] it appears that non-performance of this duty brings punishment from the deity. In former times the bridegroom's mother or elder brother used to anoint the bride's forehead and abdomen with the blood of the sacrificial reindeer. This, too, evidently meant the adoption of the bride into the new family, and her introduction to the new hearth, by means of sacrificial

[1] See pp. 561 and 754; and Part I, pp. 140, 145, 227. [2] See Part I, p. 210. [3] Ibid., p. 324.
[4] See Chapter XIII. [5] See Part I, pp. 26, 93. [6] Ibid., p. 300.

11: Kennan--213 T-3 (1865) 1870 Koryak
116, 782 Reindeer

"Aside from the sacrifices which are ordered by the Shamáns, the Koraks offer general oblations at least twice a year, to insure a good catch of fish and seal and a prosperous season. We frequently saw twenty or thirty dogs suspended by the hind legs on long poles over a single encampment. Quantities of green grass are collected during the summer and twisted into wreaths, to be hung around the necks of the slaughtered animals; and offerings of tobacco are always thrown to the evil spirits when the Koraks cross the summit of a mountain."

17:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY4 Koryak RY4

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532

Images of ancestor spirits:
1—having "descendants"; 2—one without living "descendants."

To placate the nin'vits, the Koryaks sacrificed to them. Thus, a hunter passing by a place considered to be inhabited by a nin'vit' had to make a sacrifice of a pinch of tobacco or several cartridges. The places inhabited by nin'vit's were very numerous; they were cliffs of unusual formation, hot springs or waterfalls, places where a corpse had been burned or a hunter perished, the ruins of a dwelling, abandoned after the death of one of its inhabitants, and so forth. Koryak ideas about the dead were ambivalent. They held that after death a person became a nin'vit', that is, a harmful, hostile being. At the same time, there was the notion of ancestors who lived somewhere underground or in the sky and helped their descendants, sending them success in the hunt, protecting their herds, etc. Ancestor images were made of wood. They were small, crudely carved wooden figures (kalak), representing a sitting or, more rarely, a standing person, with a flat face, without a nose, with two hollows in the place of eyes and a rather large hollow to indicate the mouth. During family celebrations the mouth-hole was filled with fat or fat meat. Every family had whole bundles of kalaks; every Koryak had his own kalak—his personal guardian.

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The Koryaks believed that the shaman had power over nin'vit's. The shaman communicated with nin'vit's in total darkness; the entrance to the dwelling was carefully closed, the smoke vent was stopped up with a bundle of grass, the hearth fire was put out. The shaman struck his tambourine, cried out fragmentary words and phrases, danced and sang.

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The shaman's actions were usually stimulated by intoxication from the fly-agaric eaten beforehand. When he tired, the shaman fell asleep. The Koryaks believed that the "prophetic fly-agaric" led him into the next world and arranged meetings with dead kinsmen, from whom the shaman obtained the necessary instructions. On awakening from his long sleep, the shaman related his visions to the people around him.

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The Koryak shaman did not have any special dress. He performed his rituals in the usual clothing, which differed from the rest only in the large number of tags and disks of skin or beads attached to it. Some shamans made slight changes in their dress during the ritual performance, such as wearing a man's boot on one foot, and a woman's on the other. The tambourine was narrow-rimmed.

756 291

In addition to professional shamanism, the Koryaks also practiced family shamanism, predominantly in the hands of women. This was closely bound to the cult of the family hearth. Every member born in a family was regarded as a reincarnation of an ancestor. The exact identity of the ancestor was learned with the aid of divination. For this purpose, a stone in a leather pouch was suspended from a small tripod. The eldest member of the family

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23: Krasheninnikov N-3 (1736-40) 1764 Koryak

kotſkoi have great herds, and yet feed for the moſt part upon ſea animals. The *Koreki* would be miſerable if they wanted the rein-deer: for they know no way of keeping themſelves alive, as they do not underſtand how to catch fiſh; and if they did, could not ſoon provide themſelves with boats, nets, or dogs: ſo that the poorer ſort are employed by the richer in feeding their deer, for which they receive meat and cloaths; and if they have any ſmall ſtock of their own, they are allowed to feed them with their maſter's cattle.

The rein-deer *Koreki* exchange their deer and deer-ſkins with the neighbouring people for the very fineſt furrs, of which they have always a large ſtock by them.

The religion of the *Koreki* is more abſurd than that of the *Kamtſchadales*, at leaſt that little chief, of whom I had my information, ſeemed to have ſcarce any idea of a God; they ſeem more to reſpect evil ſpirits, which, according to their opinion, inhabit the rivers and woods: this reſpect ſeems to be owing to their fear. The ſettled *Koreki* acknowledge for their God, the *Kuta* of the *Kamtſchadales*. They have no fixt time of worſhip or offering ſacrifices; but, whenever they pleaſe, they kill either a rein-deer or a dog, which they fix upon a ſtake, turning its face towards the eaſt, leaving only the deer's head and tongue upon the ſtake. They themſelves do not know to whom they make theſe ſacrifices, and only uſe theſe words, *Vio coing yack ne la lu, han be vau*; that is, This to you, and may you ſend us ſomething that is good. The time of ſacrificing is when they are going to paſs any river or waſte, which they think the devils inhabit; then they kill one of their deer, and eating the fleſh, they faſten the bones of the head upon a pole, which they fix oppoſite to the habitation of the ſpirits. When the *Koreki* are afraid of any infectious diſtemper, they kill a dog, and winding the guts upon two poles, they paſs between them.

During

23: Krasheninnikov N-3 (1736-40) 1764 Koryak

756 785 During their ſacrifices their *ſhamans* or ſorcerers beat a little drum like that uſed by the *Jakutſki*, and the neighbouring nations. Some of the *Shamans* are reckoned phyſicians, and are thought, by beating upon the drum, to drive away diſtempers. In the year 1739 I had an opportunity of ſeeing, at the lower *Kamtſchatkoi* fort, the moſt famous *Shaman Carimlacha*, who was not only of great reputation among theſe wild people, but was alſo reſpected by our Coſſacks, for the many extraordinary feats that he performed; particularly that of ſtabbing his belly with a knife, and letting a great quantity of blood run out, which he drank: however this he performed in ſuch an awkward manner, that any one, who was not blinded by ſuperſtition, might eaſily diſcover the trick. At firſt, ſitting upon his knees, and beating ſome time upon his drum, he ſtruck his knife into his belly, and then, from below his furred coat, he drew out a handful of blood, which he eat, licking his fingers. I could not help laughing at the ſimplicity of the trick, which the pooreſt player of legerdemain would have been aſhamed of. One might ſee him ſlip the knife down below his furr, and that he ſqueezed the blood out of a bladder which he had in his boſom. After all this conjuration he thought ſtill to ſurpriſe us more by ſhewing us his belly all bloody, pretending to have cured the wound which he had not made. He told us, that the evil ſpirits appeared to him in different forms, and came from different places; ſome came from the ſea, others out of the burning mountains; ſome of them were very large, and ſome very ſmall; ſome had no hands, and ſome were half burned; the ſpirits of the ſea were much finer dreſſed than the others, and appeared to him as it were in a dream, and at ſuch a time they tormented him ſo much, that he was almoſt out of his ſenſes.

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755 782 When the ſorcerers pretend to cure any diſtemper by their conjurations, ſometimes they order a dog to be killed, at other times

23: Krasheninnikov N-3 (1736-40) 1764 Koryak

times to ſet little rods round their huts. When they kill a dog, one perſon holds it by the head, another by the tail, and a third ſtabs it in the ſide; when it is dead they ſtick it upon a ſtake, turning its face towards the neareſt burning mountain.

Their civil policy is as rude as their religious; they know nothing of dividing the year into months; they have names indeed for the four ſeaſons. They have only names for the four cardinal winds. Of the conſtellations they know the Great Bear, which they call, in their language, the wild rein-deer; the Pleiades they name the duck's neſt; and the Milky Way the ſcattered river.

The diſtance of places they reckon by their day's journey, which is between 30 and 50 verſts.

Before they were ſubject to the Empire of *Ruſſia* they never had any government or chief magiſtrate among them, only thoſe that were rich had ſome ſort of authority over the poor; nor before that did they know any thing of an oath. At preſent, inſtead of ſwearing upon the croſs or goſpel, our Coſſacks oblige them to hold a muſquet by the barrel, threatening, that whoever does not obſerve this oath will certainly be ſhot by a ball. This they are ſo much afraid of, that rather than clear themſelves by this oath, if guilty, they will confeſs their crime.

They are quite ignorant of all good manners, not only in common compliments, but in receiving ſtrangers, whom they treat with an air of ſuperiority. When they entertain their gueſts they don't oblige them to over-eat themſelves, as the *Kamtſchadales* do, but give them what they have in ſufficient plenty; their beſt victuals is fat meat, and all theſe barbarous nations are exceſſively fond of fat. The *Jakutſki* would loſe an eye for a piece of fat horſe fleſh, and the *Tchukotſkoi* for a fat dog. The *Jakutſki* know that the ſtealing of any cattle is puniſhed with the loſs of all their goods; yet, if they have an opportunity, they can't reſtrain themſelves from ſtealing a fat horſe, comforting themſelves amidſt